

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0902

INFO ALL EC CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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USEEC

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, XA

SUBJ: UK FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN'S JULY 12 PRESS

CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

REF: BRUSSELS 7933

1. DEPARTMENT MAY FIND OF INTEREST, IN ADVANCE OF THE SECRETARY'S MEETING THIS WEEK WITH UK FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN, THE FOLLOWING PARTIAL TRANSCRIPT (SOME MINOR REPETITION OMITTED) OF OWEN'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE JULY 12 POLITICAL COOPERATION MEETING IN BRUSSELS OF THE EC-NINE FOREIGN MINISTERS (REFTEL). IN HIS REMARKS, OWEN SPOKE AT LENGTH ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN AND RHODESIAN ISSUES IN GENERAL AND ON HIS PROPOSAL FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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A CODE OF CONDUCT FOR EC BUSINESSES OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA. OWEN WAS UNAWARE THAT HIS REMARKS WERE BEING TAPED, ALTHOUGH HIS SPOKESMAN GAVE PERMISSION FOR REPORTERS TO DO SO. TRANSCRIPT WAS PREPARED BY MISSION OFFICER FROM TAPE PROVIDED BY MEMBER OF PRESS CORPS. FULL TEXT OF OWEN REMARKS HAS ALSO BEEN SENT BY EMBASSY BRUSSELS AIRGRAM.

2. BEGIN TRANSCRIPT: (PROPOSED EC CODE OF CONDUCT)

I THINK THERE IS A GENERAL ACCEPTANCE THAT IT IS STILL POSSIBLE TO GET PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA; BUT TIME IS FAST RUNNING OUT. WE REALLY HAVE TO DEVELOP - IF WE BELIEVE IN A PEACEFUL TRANSITION, AND IF WE WOULD CARRY ANY CREDIBILITY- THEN, WE WOULD HAVE TO SHIFT IT AWAY FROM EITHER RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTING UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS OR TRYING TO GET THEM CHANGED, OR VETOING THEM, OR A WHOLE RANGE OF THINGS IN WHICH ONE IS DEALING WITH ISSUES AD HOC. WE HAVE TO DEVELOP A COHERENT STRATEGY OURSELVES. AND HERE WE WERE, AN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, BUT ALSO A POLITICAL COMMUNITY; AND WE HAVE AN UNRIVALLED OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE OUR ECONOMIC INHERITANCE, IF YOU LIKE, IN SOUTH AFRICA AND USE THAT AS A CATALYST FOR CHANGE. AND I SUGGESTED THAT WE SHOULD THINK OF A COMMUNITY CODE OF CONDUCT. IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT, I THINK, TO GET THIS LEGISLATED IN INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL LEGISLATURES; BUT IF YOU WERE TO INVOLVE THE(EC) COMMISSION - IT WAS AGREED THAT THEY SHOULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE STUDY - THERE MAY BE WAYS IN WHICH YOU COULD GIVE IT FAR GREATER CREDIBILITY THAN INDIVIDUAL MEMBER STATES ACTING THEMSELVES. YOU MAY REMEMBER THE UNITED STATES - SOME LARGE COMPANIES IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE ENTERED INTO IT. HOWEVER, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AREAS WHICH THEY DON'T GOVERN - THEY DON'T GO INTO...

3. THERE ARE, AS WE KNOW, MARKED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WAGE LEVELS BETWEEN BLACK AFRICANS AND WHITE AFRICANS. THERE ARE DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES AS TO PLACE OF WORK. THERE ARE MARKED INEQUALITIES OF CONDITIONS OF WORK IN SOME SECTORS. AND THERE IS THE WHOLE QUESTION OF TRADE UNION RECOGNITION. WELL, THE COMMUNITY HAS...VIEWS ON MINIMUM WAGES, STANDARDS OF SAFETY, QUALITY OF WORK ENVIRONMENT, AND RECOGNITION OF TRADE UNIONS. AND IF WE HAVE GOT AN ECONOMIC INVOLVEMENT THERE AND OUR COMPANIES ARE INVESTED THERE AND PERFORMING EMPLOYMENT THERE, OUGHT WE NOT TO MOBILIZE THIS? WELL, SOME OF YOU MAY KNOW, IN BRITAIN WE TRIED TO DO THIS. THERE WAS A SELECT COMMITTEE REPORT ON THIS SOME YEARS BACK AND A GREAT WAVE OF PUBLICITY, SOMETHING WAS DONE. BUT IT STUMBLERED ON THE BASIS THAT IT WAS BRITAIN ALONE DOING THIS AND, ENDLESSLY, YOU WOULD HAVE COMPANIES SAYING, "WELL, IF WE'RE GOING TO PAY THIS HIGHER WAGE LEVEL TO BLACK WORKERS, WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN TO OUR GERMAN COMPETITOR, OUR FRENCH COMPETITOR?" OR SOMETHING LIKE THAT...IT IS NOT GOING TO BE EASY...IN FACT, IT'S

FRAUGHT WITH DIFFICULTIES INSIDE THE MEMBER STATES. IN MY JUDGEMENT, THERE'S MUCH MORE CHANCE OF HAVING AN EFFECTIVE POLICY AND POINTING DIRECTION OF CHANGE THAN IF IT'S DONE BY INDIVIDUAL STATES.

4. THE QUESTION OF INVESTMENT WAS RAISED. IT WAS THOUGHT THAT WE SHOULD LOOK AT WHAT GOVERNMENTAL AIDS, IF ANY, WERE GIVEN TO INVESTMENT - AT LEAST THAT WE SHOULD HAVE A RATIONAL - A RATIONALIZED APPROACH ON THAT: THE WHOLE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE LEVEL OF INVESTMENT SHOULD BE INCREASED OR WHETHER ONE OUGHT TO TRY TO DISCOURAGE INVESTMENT. THEN, THERE WERE SOME QUESTIONS RAISED ABOUT THE OIL COMPANIES, AND VIEWS WERE PUT TO SAY THAT, AFTER ALL, HERE WE ARE WITH A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0903

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AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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MANDATORY UN RESOLUTION, AND STILL OIL COMPANIES WERE GETTING AROUND THIS - WAS THERE ANYTHING - PARTICULARLY

THOSE OIL COMPANIES THAT HAVE A EUROPEAN BASE - ...
THAT WE COULD DO - AGAIN ACTING AS A COMMUNITY
RATHER THAN AS INDIVIDUAL MEMBER STATES? WE JUST AGREED
THAT THAT WOULD BE LOOKED AT. AND THEN THERE WAS A
SENSE OR URGENCY INJECTED INTO THE DISCUSSION ON THE
BASIS THAT WE WERE GOING TO HAVE THE LAGOS MEETING IN
AUGUST...

Q. WHO'S ORGANIZING IT?

A. THAT'S THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT. IT'S A UN RESOLUTION.
IT HAS UN AUSPICES. IT'S SOMEWHAT LIKE MAPUTO; BUT IT'S
NOT SPECIFICALLY UN, AND WHETHER IT'S COMMITTED TO ANY
FORA I'M NOT QUITE SURE..... IT HAS GOT A UN TILT TO IT
AND IT'S SOMEWHAT SIMILAR TO MAPUTO, ALTHOUGH IT LOOKS
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AS IF THEY'RE GOING RATHER WIDER IN INVOLVING ORGANI-
ZATIONS OUTSIDE GOVERNMENTS. THAT'S THE FIRST TIME WHEN
THE COMMUNITY WILL WANT TO HAVE A POSITION, AND WE HAVE
ALREADY AGREED THAT WE WILL, AS WE DID IN MAPUTO,
COORDINATE OUR POSITION; AND SO WE WILL HAVE TO GET AN
AGREED POSITION THERE. AND THEN, OF COURSE, IT WILL
COME BACK AGAIN IN THE UN DEBATE AT THE END OF SEPTEMBER.

...

5. I STARTED THIS MAINLY AS SOMETHING WHICH I FEEL
VERY STRONGLY THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE DEVELOPED A SENSIBLE
STRATEGY FOR PEACEFUL TRANSITION. WHAT WAS STRIKING WAS
THE VERY STRONG FEELINGS THAT ARE HELD BY COUNTRIES
WHICH HITERTO ONE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT WERE NOT READY TO
TAKE A STANCE ON THIS... AS YOU KNOW, WE DON'T QUOTE
INDIVIDUAL STATES - BUT, FOR INSTANCE, HERR GENSCHER WAS
VERY STRONG ON THIS AND AGREED FOR URGENCY IN GETTING
OUR POSITION IDENTIFIED. OTHERWISE, IT WAS THE FEELING
THAT THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE WAS AN ENDLESSLY DEFENSIVE
POSITION ON THINGS LIKE CHAPTER 7 IN UNITED NATIONS
RESOLUTIONS AND HOLDING OFF WHILE THE COMMUNITY IS
DIVIDED ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF IT AND A RATHER NEGATIVE
POSTURE BE GIVEN TO AFRICA. THERE WAS THEN A WIDER
DEBATE ABOUT THE WHOLE OF AFRICA. WE WENT AROUND
THE TABLE ON THE HORN OF AFRICA AND HAD A WIDER DIS-
CUSSION ON RHODESIA, ZAIRE, SAHARA. THERE WAS A FEELING
THAT, AS AT ONE TIME THE COMMUNITY DIDN'T EVER HAD A
POLICY ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND NOW IT HAD DEVELOPED ONE,
SO THERE WAS A NEED IN AFRICA FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A
COMMUNITY POLICY...AFTER ALL, WE'RE INVOLVED THERE VERY
HEAVILY WITH LOME - AND THE FEELING THAT OTHERWISE ALL
THAT ONE WOULD BE DONE WOULD BE PUSHED INTO A SITUATION
WHERE VIOLENT STRATEGY WOULD BE THE ONE WHICH WOULD

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TRIUMPH AND THAT WE SHOULD ANTICIPATE THIS AND COME TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEM AND, IF YOU LIKE, TO MAKE A VIRTUE OF OUR HISTORIC COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC TIES. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DO. YOU WOULD RUN UP AGAINST THE PROBLEM OF SUBSIDIARIES OPERATING UNDER SOUTH AFRICAN LAW; BUT IN MY JUDGEMENT, IF THE COMMUNITY WERE ABLE TO SHOW A POLITICAL RESOLVE IN THIS AREA, IT COULD HAVE A VERY DRAMATIC EFFECT. AND IN THE TABLES IN WHICH YOU COMPARE ALL THE VARIOUS STATISTICS, IT IS VERY INTERESTING THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE HAS A BIGGER STAKE THAN EVEN THE UNITED STATES. SO WE HAVE REAL ECONOMIC LEVERAGE. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER WE CAN APPLY IT IN A SENSIBLE WAY, AND IT WILL BE VERY INTERESTING TO SEE NOW WHETHER WE CAN DEVELOP THIS. I THINK IT'S EXTREMELY INTERESTING THE WAY THE COMMUNITY IS NOW DEVELOPING THIS - SOMETHING WHICH I'VE ALWAYS FELT VBRY STRONGLY ABOUT - THIS POLITICAL ARM OF ITS ECONOMIC POWER, IF YOU LIKE... IF SIX OR NINE MONTHS AGO YOU WERE TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITIES AND PRACTICAL THINGS OF COMMUNITY POLICY ON INVESTMENT, WAGES, TRADE UNION RELATIONS, CONDITIONS OF WORK ON A COMMUNITY BASIS, I THINK YOU WOULD HAVE HAD SUPPORT FROM PERHAPS TWO OR THREE COUNTRIES. IT'S A VERY INTERESTING CHANGE WHICH IS COMING OVER THE COMMUNITY AS IT BEGINS TO DEVELOP POLITICAL IDENTITY. NOW, IT'S DANGEROUS OVERSELLING THIS - TRYING TO PRETEND THAT IT WILL ACHIEVE MORE THAN IT WILL ACHIEVE. THERE WAS TALK OF LEGISLATION - I THINK THAT POSES GREAT PROBLEMS. I THINK IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO SEE WHETHER THE COMMISSION'S COMMERCIAL POLICY CAN BE USED TO REINFORCE THIS IN ANY WAY.

Q. WHAT ARE THE MECHANICS FOR PURSUING THIS IDEA?

A. WELL THERE IS AN AFRICAN COMMITTEE - AFRICAN

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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0904

INFO ALL EC CAPITALS

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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EXPERTS - CONNECTED WITH THE POLITICAL COOPERATION
FRAMEWORK. BUT, FIRST, THERE IS A FEELING OF
URGENCY. SECONDLY, THERE WAS A RECOGNITION THAT (EC
MEMBER STATE) TREASURIES AND THE DEPARTMENTS OF TRADE
WOULD HAVE TO BE CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THIS SORT OF
WORK AND THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH IT.
AND VARIOUS PEOPLE - I MADE THE PLEA AND OTHERS MADE
IT TOO - THAT IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THIS BE GIVEN A
POLITICAL PUSH - THAT THIS WASN'T A SUBJECT JUST TO BE
DELEGATED TO TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS. IT WAS A QUESTION OF
PUTTING A POLITICAL IMPETUS, BUT IT WILL NEED DETAILED
TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS. THE DUTCH SAID THAT THEY HAVE
ALREADY GOT A CODE OF CONDUCT WHICH THEY HAD ISSUED AT ONE
TIME - I THINK IT WAS IN 74 - ALTHOUGH, THEY INDICATED
THAT MAYBE IT SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED. AND VARIOUS
GUIDELINES HAVE BEEN PUT OUT - THE SELECT COMMITTEE IN
BRITAIN PRODUCED VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS. INDUSTRY AND
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COMMERCE HAVE TENDED TO JUST KNOCK THIS ASIDE HITHERTO.
WHAT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BE KNOCKED ASIDE IS IF A
COMMUNITY OF NINE, WITH GOVERNMENTS OF DIFFERENT
POLITICAL COMPLEXION, ARE ABLE TO AGREE AND FORMULATE A
UNIFIED POLICY. THIS COULD BE A VERY MAJOR CHANGE OF
DIRECTION IN THE WAY THE COMMUNITY OPERATES. IT COULD
TURN OUT TO BE UNOBTAINABLE; I DON'T KNOW. THE IMPORTANT
THING WAS THE DEGREE OF COMMITMENT AND THE WISH TO LOOK
AT THIS. THE DANGER IS OF OVERPLAYING THIS. WE'VE NOT
REACHED AGREEMENT ON SPECIFICS. BUT WHAT WAS INTERESTING
WAS THE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON THE PHILOSOPHY THAT UNDER-
LIES IT AND THE BELIEF THAT, IF YOU DON'T MOVE FAIRLY
SOON, THEN PEACEFUL TRANSITION WILL BE JUST CAUGHT OUT

BY TIME.

Q. DR. OWEN, KENNETH KAUNDA SUGGESTED SOME WEEKS AGO THAT IF YOU WANTED TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT YOU COULD DO SO BY RESTRICTING THE OIL SUPPLY OR BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE MAJOR OIL COMPANIES TO RESTRICT OIL SUPPLIES TO RHODESIA. IF YOU'RE CONSIDERING THIS ACTION IN TERMS OF SOUTH AFRICA, WHY WASN'T THE POSSIBILITY OF DOING THE SAME THING TO RHODESIA BROUGHT UP? AND, IF NOT, WHY NOT?

A. MANDATORY SANCTIONS. WE DIDN'T RAISE THE QUESTION OF BRINGING OIL SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. THESE ARE ALL CHANGES IN A PEACEFUL WAY, WITHOUT GOING THROUGH MANDATORY SANCTIONS. WE DID, IN FACT, HAVE A SLIGHT DISCUSSION OF SOUTH AFRICA; BUT, I MEAN, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S POSITION IS QUITE CLEAR AND THIS WAS MADE PLAIN THAT IT WOULD BE NO GOOD PEOPLE PUTTING THEIR NAMES TO THIS SORT OF THING AND THEN JUST ALLOWING IT TO GO THROUGH. BECAUSE, BRITAIN FEELS A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BIT BRUISED. WE HAVE CONSCIENTIOUSLY APPLIED SANCTIONS, AND QUITE A NUMBER OF COMMUNITY COUNTRIES HAVE NOT, TO BE BLUNT. SO THAT, THAT'S ONE OF THE DANGERS OF HAVING A FRAGMENTED POLICY. AS FAR AS THAT QUESTION IS CONCERNED, A NUMBER OF PEOPLE DID MAKE THEIR POSITIONS CLEAR ABOUT SANCTIONS, AND A DISTINCTION WAS MADE IN SOME PEOPLE'S MINDS BETWEEN SANCTIONS IN RELATION TO NAMIBIA OR RHODESIA... A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES MADE STRONG FEELINGS THAT THEY DIDN'T WANT TO GO AGAINST SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA PER SE.

Q. EXACTLY WHAT ASPECT OF THE, I THINK YOU SAID THAT OIL COMPANIES ARE STILL SUPPLYING SOUTH AFRICA....

A. THAT WAS PLACED IN THE RHODESIAN CONTEXT. IT WASN'T RAISED IN THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA. IT WAS RAISED, IF YOU LIKE, THE CONTEXT AGAIN, OF SAYING, NOW IF YOU AGREE TO DO THIS, YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE A POLICY...IN ORDER TO CARRY ANY CONVICTION, POLICIES MUST BE APPLIED FAIRLY, BUT ACROSS THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. AND IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT HERE WE HAVE MANDATORY OIL SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA (SIC) AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN SUBSIDIARIES OF THE OIL COMPANIES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO GET AROUND IT. BUT THE BRITISH VIEW IF THAT MORE COULD BE DONE BY CONCERTED ACTION BY THE INTERNATIONAL OIL COMPANIES. WE DON'T MAKE ANY SECRET OF THIS. AND ONE OF THE REASONS THAT WE HAVE AN INQUIRY AT THE MOMENT IS ABOUT THE ALLEGATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE ABOUT

THE OIL COMPANIES. WE HAVE THIS BINGHAM INQUIRY SITTING
AT THE MOMENT. THE PRIME AREA UNDER DISCUSSION WAS SOUTH
AFRICA, NOT RHODESIA, AND THE REASON WHY I THINK WE WERE
NOT DISCUSSING MANDATORY SANCTIONS WAS THAT MOST OF THE
COUNTRIES DON'T THINK THAT THAT IS THE RIGHT APPROACH
AT THE MOMENT; BUT THEY ARE - AND YET, WE AGREE THAT WE
HAVEN'T GOT A POLICY AND TRY AND SEE IF THERE WAS A WAY
TO GET PEACEFUL TRANSITION. THE ALTERNATIVE IS THAT YOU
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FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0905

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AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

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START HAVING MANDATORY SANCTIONS...APART FROM HAVING VERY
SEVERE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES DOMESTICALLY ON THE
ECONOMIES OF NOT JUST BRITAIN, BUT FRANCE, GERMANY, AND
OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THEREFORE AN
EFFECT ON THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. IT IS A VERY NEGATIVE
POLICY; IT IS THE POLICY OF ISOLATION. WHEREAS THE
ARGUMENT HERE IS THAT THERE IS STILL A POSSIBILITY FOR A
PEACEFUL TRANSITION.

Q. THE FACT THAT THIS HAS EMERGED AT ALL IN THIS FORM, ON THE FACE OF IT, LOOKS AS THOUGH THE RELIANCE - THE PARTIAL RELIANCE - THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE PUT UPON GETTING THE COOPERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA OVER RHODESIA HAS TO SOME EXTENT BEEN ABANDONED.

A. NO, IF YOU CAREFULLY WATCH WHAT CY VANCE HAS SAID AND WHAT I'VE SAID. IN EVERYTHING WE HAVE ALWAYS MADE IT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CLEAR THAT WE ARE OPERATING ON THREE AREAS: SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA, AND RHODESIA. AND I MADE A SPEECH TO THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION SOME WEEKS BACK SAYING NO TRADE-OFF. THAT ISN'T TO SAY THAT YOU'RE NOT REALISTIC ABOUT THE TIME-SCALE OF ACTIVITY. AND I'VE MADE PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND BEEN ATTACKED FOR SAYING THAT THE SORT OF TRANSITION AND CHANGE THAT ONE'S ASKING FOR IN SOUTH AFRICA IS GOING TO TAKE A LONGER TIMESCALE. THE QUESTION IS, AND THE IMPORTANT THING IS, THAT THAT TRANSITION SHOULD START AND THAT, IF IT DOESN'T, THEN CHANCES OF GETTING IT PEACEFULLY WILL NOT BE GOOD.

Q. BUT WITH THE CODE OF CONDUCT DO YOU HAVE REALISTIC HOPES THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME WOULD IN ANY WAY PLAY BALL, PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE SMITH REGIME?

A. I THINK THEY'RE UNRELATED ISSUES AND, AS I SAY, I DON'T BELIEVE IN THE TRADE-OFF PRINCIPLES. THE SOUTH AFRICANS KNOW MY VIEWS ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES, GENERALLY. I HAVE ALWAYS EXPLAINED THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION, AND THEY ARE CERTAINLY WHAT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT: BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS, AREN'T THEY: THE RIGHT TO BE REPRESENTED BY A TRADE UNION, THE RIGHT TO HAVE REASONABLE MINIMUM WAGES, THE RIGHT TO HAVE REASONABLE CONDITIONS. OKAY, WE DON'T CONTROL SOUTH AFRICA, WE DON'T CONTROL SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANIES, WE DON'T EVEN CONTROL EUROPEAN COMPANIES OPERATING THERE, BUT WE HAVE SOME INFLUENCE OVER THEM. AND IS THERE A WAY IN WHICH, PEACEFULLY, WE CAN EXERCISE AN INFLUENCE, AND, IF NOT A STATUTORY AUTHORITY, A MORAL AUTHORITY. NOW, WHAT I'M SAYING TO YOU IS EXPERIENCE IN BRITAIN OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS, AS WE HAVE BEEN DEBATING THIS, DEMONSTRATES THAT IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO DO IF ONE

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COUNTRY OPERATES ALONE. ABOUT THIRTY - WASN'T IT THIRTY
AMERICAN COMPANIES - BIG AMERICAN COMPANIES - GOT
TOGETHER AND DID CERTAIN THINGS. THEY DIDN'T INCLUDE
ANYTHING, I DON'T THINK, ANYTHING VERY STRONGLY ON TRADE
UNION RIGHTS. THEY CONCENTRATED MAINLY ON WAGES AND
CONDITIONS. THAT'S WHAT'S NEEDED. IF ENOUGH COMPANIES
DO IT IN SOUTH AFRICA, THEN AUTOMATICALLY WAGES WILL
START TO RISE.

Q. WILL THOSE SANCTIONED ELEMENTS AT ALL, EVEN OF A
MORAL CHARACTER, SUCH AS THE PUBLICATION OF COMPANIES'
NAMES...

A. NO, NO. THAT'S SOMETHING WHICH WE COULD WELL LOOK AT.
NOBODY'S DISCUSSED THAT... I THINK THAT THERE IS STRONG
RECOGNITION GROWING NOW THAT SOMETHING MORE THAN WORDS
IS NECESSARY, AND YET A WISH NOT TO GO TO THE SITUATION
OF TOTALLY FORCING SOUTH AFRICA BACK INTO ITSELF AND
OSTRACIZING IT FROM THE WORLD, AND THAT, WHILE THERE'S
A CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSITION AND CHANGE, YOU
SHOULD TRY TO EXERT THIS SORT OF INFLUENCE AND THAT IS,
IF YOU LIKE, COMBINING THE POLITICAL AND OVERALL VIEW
OF THE COMMUNITY ON ISSUES LIKE HUMAN RIGHTS INTO AN
ECONOMIC SPHERE. AND I THINK IT'S VERY IMPORTANT
IN AFRICA. AFTER ALL, WE WERE SEEN TO BE DOING THIS
AGAINST UGANDA - FOR QUITE DIFFERENT REASONS. BUT IN
TERMS OF MANY AFRICANS' VIEWS, WHAT'S GOING ON IIN
SOUTH AFRICA IS EVERY BIT AS REPREHENSIBLE AS WHAT'S
GOING ON IN UGANDA. AND I THINK THERE HAVE BEEN DANGERS
AT TIMES THAT THE WORLD WOULD BE SEEN JUST CONCENTRATING
ON THE UGANDAN PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AND NOT
ON THE OTHERS. BUT AS TO WHETHER IT WILL WORK, AND
WHETHER SOMEBODY WILL COME UP WITH IT, AND WHETHER
MEMBER STATES WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE IT VIABLE AND STICK,
WHO KNOWS?

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Q. MR. MINISTER, CAN YOU ENUMERATE THE MEASURES WHICH
YOU HAVE ADOPTED? (ISVESTIA CORRESPONDENT)

A. NO, WE HAVEN'T ADOPTED MEASURES. THIS IS THE FIRST
TIME IT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE COMMUNITY. AND WHAT
WAS AGREED WAS THAT IT WOULD NOW GO OFF TO AN AFRICAN
GROUP WHICH WOULD BE STRENGTHENED BY OTHERS TO LOOK AT
THE WHOLE QUESTION. WHEREAS, I'M SURE IT'S BEING
EXAMINED INDIVIDUALLY IN EACH AND EVERY MEMBER STATE.
IT ALL STEMMED FROM, ALSO, A PAPER WHICH WE HAD WHICH
IS ON UNITED NATIONS VOTING; AND JUST RECENTLY WE'VE
DISCOVERED THAT THE COMMUNITY, WHICH HAS GOT A VERY
GOOD RECORD OF VOTING TOGETHER, HAS BEEN TENDING TO...
THAT RECORD HAS BEEN RATHER REDUCED. AND IT'S BEEN MAINLY
ON AFRICAN ISSUES WHERE THERE HAS BEEN A DIFFERENCE OF
VIEW BETWEEN THE NINE. AND SO, SOME MONTHS BACK, IT WAS
DECIDED THAT THE WAY TO GET AT THAT WAS NOT TO JUST AGAIN
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SAY THAT WE SHOULD VOTE TOGETHER BUT TO ANALYZE THE MAJOR
PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND TRY TO SEE IF WE COULD GET
A COMMON APPROACH. AND I THINK THAT THERE WAS A GREAT
DEAL OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE EXTENT OF THE ECONOMIC
INVOLVEMENT AND THE FORMAT OF THE INVOLVEMENT.

Q. DO YOU STILL INTEND TO GO TO SOUTHERN AFRICA?

A. I'VE NOT DECIDED WHEN I'LL GO. I'LL BE VERY SUR-
PRISED IF I DON'T GO BUT WHEN I GO I DON'T KNOW.

Q. NAMIBIA WAS NOT DISCUSSED?

A. NO, WE HAD AN AGREED PAPER ON NAMIBIA. IT WAS TOUCHED ON IN THE OVERALL SECTION ON AFRICA. IT WAS AGREED.

RHODESIA

Q. RHODESIA (UNAUDIBLE)

A. THE ONLY POINT OF GOING IS IF YOU THINK THERE IS A CHANCE OF ITS BEING FRUITFUL AND ACTUALLY CONTRIBUTING TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. WHILE THERE'S A CHANCE OF ACHIEVING A SETTLEMENT, I FEEL BOUND TO GO. I'VE NEVER SAID - I'VE ALWAYS BEEN VERY CLEAR RIGHT FROM THE START THAT THE CHANCES OF GETTING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA WERE VERY SLIM. IT SEEMED TO ME IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE IT WAS NOT TO ATTEMPT IT. AND THAT'S STILL MY VIEW. YOU SHOULDN'T GIVE UP UNLESS, REALLY, THE CHANCES WERE NON-EXISTENT. BUT AT THE MOMENT THERE ARE SO MANY DIFFERENT CHANGING ASPECTS IN THE SITUATION, THAT IT MAY BE.....ANYHOW, I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS IT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITH THE UNITED STATES. YOU KNOW, SO I WOULDN'T TAKE TOO MUCH NOTICE OF THE TEMPORARY CHANGES AND SHIFTS IN AFRICA. IT'S A VERY VOLATILE PLACE AND ONE'S GOT TO LOOK AT THE BROAD TRENDS. I BELIEVE THAT THERE'S NOW A GREATER ACCEPTANCE THAN THERE WAS FOUR MONTHS AGO THAT THERE WILL HAVE TO BE ONE MAN - ONE VOTE. THAT WAS NOT THE SITUATION FOUR OR FIVE MONTHS AGO. WE HAVE MADE PEOPLE REALIZE THAT. I THINK TOO THAT WE'VE COME TO A PRETTY GOOD MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON THE SORT OF CONSTITUTION; THAT MEANS THAT THE BLACK NATIONALIST LEADERS UNDERSTAND THE SORT OF SAFEGUARDS THAT THEY HAVE GOT TO TRY TO GIVE...THE PROBLEM IS THE TRANSITION.. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THE LIBERATION ARMY TO THE RHODESIAN FRONT AND RHODESIAN DEFENSE FORCE.

Q. DO YOU ACCEPT THE SALISBURY LINE THAT THE TWO-MAN DELEGATION THAT WENT TO VISIT CAME WITH SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT PROPOSALS ON THE QUESTION OF WHITE - OR RATHER THE NATURE OF CONTROL OF SECURITY IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD?

A. I'M NOT GOING TO COMMENT ON THAT. YOU'RE GETTING INTO TOO GREAT DETAIL.

Q. CAN I JUST PURSUE THIS?

A. I'M NOT GOING TO PURSUE THIS. I'M NOT NEGOTIATING
HERE. I'M THE ONLY PERSON WHO MANAGES TO KEEP HIS
MOUTH SHUT ABOUT THESE THINGS, AND I THINK IT'S BETTER
THAT WAY. I WISH SOME OTHER PEOPLE WOULD. WE GET
ENDLESS STATEMENTS COMING OUT THE WHOLE TIME, AND A
NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS NOT ACHIEVED BY EXCHANGING
COMMENTS VIA THE PRESS. ONE THING I'LL TELL YOU IS
THAT ANY SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM IS NOT GOING TO COME
FROM OUTSIDE. IT IS GOING TO COME INSIDE. THE PEOPLE
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WHO ARE GOING TO HAVE TO LIVE TOGETHER IN AN INDEPENDENT
ZIMBABWE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM.

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 IO-13 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
NEA-10 AID-05 CEA-01 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 EPG-02
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FEAE-00 FPC-01 INT-05 OES-07 ACDA-07 DHA-02 /141 W
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IF THEY ARE GENUINE ABOUT MAJORITY RULE, THEY ARE GOING
TO HAVE TO LIVE TOGETHER IN A FEW MONTHS...A VERY
SHORT PERIOD OF TIME...AND THEY'LL HAVE TO RESOLVE THIS
PROBLEM OF ARMED FORCE. END TRANSCRIPT.HINTON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, PRESS CONFERENCES
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Copy: SINGLE
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Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BRUSSE08226
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770256-0801
Format: TEL
From: BRUSSELS USEEC
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770749/aaaabpqn.tel
Line Count: 710
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 33eb356a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 BRUSSELS 7933
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1834246
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: UK FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN'S JULY 12 PRESS CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA
TAGS: PFOR, SOPN, PINT, PGOV, XA, EEC, (OWEN, DAVID)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/33eb356a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009